

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 LONDON 10757

NODIS

DISTRIBUTION DESIRED: EUR AND NSC ONLY
DEPT PASS SENATOR BYRD'S OFFICE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: OVIP (BYRD, ROBERT C.)
SUBJECT: SENATOR BYRD'S MEETING WITH PM CALLAGHAN

FOLLOWING IS MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION FROM
SENATOR BYRD'S JULY 5 CALL ON PM CALLAGHAN. SENATOR
WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR BREWSTER AND SENATE
STAFFERS PURVIS AND WILLARD.

1. PM CALLAGHAN: I'M VERY MUCH AWARE OF THE INCREASING
ROLE OF CONGRESS. I'VE NOTED THIS. IT MEANS WE HAVE
TO KEEP LINES OPEN TO TWO GROUPS. WITH THIS ASSERTION
OF CONGRESSIONAL POWER, CONGRESS IS OF VERY GREAT
IMPORTANCE TO US.
2. SENATOR BYRD EXPLAINED HIS ROLE AS PRESIDENTIAL
EMISSARY AND AS MAJORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE. HE
THANKED PM FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF MEETING AND NOTED THE
HIGH REGARD IN WHICH PM WAS HELD BY PRESIDENT AND OTHERS
IN U.S., AS WELL AS THE STRONG TIES BETWEEN U.S.-UK.
3. PM CALLAGHAN: THIS IS LONG-STANDING AND MUTUAL.
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4. SENATOR BYRD BEGAN BY EMPHASIZING STRONG U.S.
COMMITMENT TO NATO AND OUR INTEREST IN AND SUPPORT OF THE
LTDP. CONGRESS IS READY TO SUPPORT THIS AND THE ADMIN-
ISTRATION IS FULLY DEDICATED. THE SENATE WILL BE
ACTING ON THE MILITARY AUTHORIZATION BILL NEXT MONDAY.
THERE IS A GROWING SENSE OF CONCERN ABOUT THE BUILDUP--

QUANTITATIVELY AND QUALITATIVELY--OF THE SOVIET/WARSAW PACT FORCES. THE U.S. WILL BE LOOKING FOR OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE TO RECIPROCATE WITH STRONG NATO SUPPORT. WE ARE URGING OUR PARTNERS TO FOLLOW THROUGH AND HELP SHARE THE BURDEN. WE FEEL VERY STRONGLY ABOUT THE SECURITY OF OUR ALLIES. OUR INTERESTS ARE ONE AND INSEPARABLE.

FROM THE STANDPOINT OF CONGRESS, SENATOR BYRD EMPHASIZED TWO POINTS:

1) ENERGY -- THE IMPRESSION HAS BEEN CONVEYED--EVEN AMONG OUR OWN PEOPLE--THAT CONGRESS HAS BLOCKED THE PRESIDENT'S ENERGY PROGRAM. SENATOR BYRD EXPLAINED SOME OF THE FACTORS THAT MADE THIS SO COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT, INCLUDING THE FACT THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WAS NEW IN OFFICE AND THE ENERGY PROBLEM WAS A LONG-STANDING ONE. HE RECALLED THE TOUGH DEBATE ON NATURAL GAS PRICING, A PROBLEM THAT HAS BEEN WITH US A QUARTER CENTURY. IN SOME RESPECTS THE SENATE HAS STRENGTHENED THE ENERGY PACKAGE.

CONGRESS HAS NOT BLOCKED OR STALLED THE ENERGY PROGRAM. CONGRESS IS GOING TO ENACT A PROGRAM AND HAVE IT ON ITS DESK BEFORE THE SENATE ADJOURNS LATER THIS YEAR. AT LEAST FOUR OF THE FIVE PARTS OF THE PROGRAM WILL BE ENACTED. THE SENATOR SAID HE WAS REASONABLY, CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC ON THE ENERGY TAX PORTION, ALTHOUGH IT WILL BE DIFFICULT. THIS WAS HIS JUDGMENT. CONFIDENTIAL

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HE SAID HE WANTED TO DEBUNK THE IMPRESSION THAT NOTHING WAS HAPPENING ON ENERGY. HE SAID HIS HONEST AND REALISTIC ASSESSMENT WAS THAT THE BILL WOULD REACH THE PRESIDENT'S DESK THIS YEAR. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THIS IS IMPORTANT TO EUROPEANS.

2) FISCAL MATTERS -- CONGRESS HAS A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT ATTITUDE THAN IN PREVIOUS YEARS. THE BUDGET REFORM ACT HAS ENABLED CONGRESS TO ACT MORE RESPONSIBLY, TO SET ITS OWN BUDGET CEILINGS, ETC. CEILINGS SET THIS YEAR REFLECT A MOOD OF FISCAL RESTRAINT AND WOULD REDUCE THE DEFICIT PROPOSED BY PRESIDENT CARTER.

CONGRESS WAS REFLECTING THE MOOD OF FISCAL RESTRAINT EVEN BEFORE PROPOSITION 13 IN CALIFORNIA. THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH THE PRESIDENT'S ANTI-INFLATION DRIVE. WE ARE WORKING TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE INFLATION PROBLEM. APPROVED AIRLINE DEREGULATION IS

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FPART OF THIS.

5. PM CALLAGHAN: WE'VE HEARD FROM THE PRESIDENT OF YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE LTDP AND THIS IS A WELCOME REASSURANCE. WE WERE ONCE WORRIED ABOUT THE MANSFIELD AMENDMENT AND WHERE IT MIGHT LEAD. WE THINK EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN DEFENSE ARE MUCH RELATED. OUR 3 PERCENT INCREASE IS COMMITTED, AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT TWO YEARS.

ON ENERGY, I AM GLAD INDEED TO HEAR YOUR FULL EXPOSITION. SOMETIMES I THINK THE SENATE NEGLECTS THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ITS APPROACH. THE ADMINISTRATION IS MORE AWARE OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE OF THINGS. PSYCHOLOGY WILL BE EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AT THE SUMMIT. MY APPROACH IS THAT EVERYBODY WILL HAVE TO DO SOME THINGS THEY DON'T WANT TO. INTERNATIONALLY, THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THIS IS IMPORTANT. I HOPE THE PRESIDENT WILL BE IN A POSITION TO SAY SOMETHING VERY DEFINITE. OTHERWISE THE SUMMIT WILL NOT BE AS SUCCESSFUL AS IT SHOULD BE.

THE DOLLAR SITUATION IS NOT HELPFUL. THE PRESIDENT NEEDS TO BE ABLE TO SAY SOMETHING PRETTY DEFINITE ABOUT YOUR ABILITY TO CUT IMPORTS AND OTHER ENERGY MOVES. THE FATE OF THE SUMMIT AND MUCH MORE ARE AT STAKE.

UNEMPLOYMENT IS A SERIOUS AND GROWING PROBLEM AND I HAVE A FEELING WE DON'T KNOW HOW TO OVERCOME IT. IT
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CAN BE A THREAT TO DEMOCRACY. I RECALL THE UNEMPLOYMENT AND INFLATION IN GERMANY PRE-WORLD WAR II.

I WOULD APPEAL TO YOU--ALTHOUGH YOU COMPETE IN SOME

WAYS WITH THE ADMINISTRATION--TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE ON SOME OF THESE ISSUES. YOU ARE WORLD LEADERS. THIS IS A GROWING PROBLEM. IT WAS APPARENT IN THE KISSINGER DAYS. THERE IS MORE THAN ONE AUTHORITATIVE VOICE. YOUR CONSTITUTION PROVIDES EQUAL BODIES. PEOPLE IN EUROPE ARE UNSURE ABOUT THIS DIVISION. AS LEADERS OF THE FREE WORLD, YOU NEED SOMETIMES TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE. I UNDERSTAND THE PARLIAMENTARY DIFFICULTIES. I KNOW OF THE SUPPORT YOU GIVE THE PRESIDENT AND MY COMMENTS ARE MADE AS AN OBSERVER, ONLOOKER, AND WELL-WISHER.

6. SENATOR BYRD SAID THAT THE APPARENT PROBLEMS BETWEEN CONGRESS AND THE PRESIDENT ARE NOT AS GREAT AS THEY ARE SAID TO BE. NEWSPAPERS DELIGHT IN SPECULATING ABOUT THIS. THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN A VERY QUICK LEARNER HE MAY BE LOW IN THE POLLS, BUT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THAT CAN BE EXAGGERATED. HE HAS TAKEN ON THE TOUGH ISSUES--ENERGY, PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, ARMS SALES TO MIDDLE EAST, ETC. HE IS WORKING HARD ON THE TURKISH EMBARGO. WHEN WE FINALLY ENACT THE ENERGY BILL IT WILL BE VIEWED AS A SUCCESS. WHEN THE RECORD IS WRITTEN HE WILL LOOK BETTER. HE'S NOT A ONE-TERM PRESIDENT.

7. PM CALLAGHAN: I TOLD KREISKY (AUSTRIA) THE SAME THINGS YESTERDAY. I KNOW CARTER IS A MUCH MORE SIGNIFICANT CHARACTER. HE HAS BEEN MISJUDGED BY THE NEWSPAPERS.

8. SENATOR BYRD SAID HE HAD CHANGED HIS VIEW ABOUT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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MANSFIELD AMENDMENT AND ON THE TURKISH EMBARGO. HE ASKED ABOUT CALLAGHAN'S THOUGHTS ON A SALT TREATY.

9. PM CALLAGHAN: I DON'T LOOK FOR A CHANGE IN SOVIET POLICY. ALL THE LEADERS ARE OVER 70. I BELIEVE THIS ARTHRITIC POLICY WILL CONTINUE. WE HAVE TO TAKE THEIR ARMS BUILDUP SERIOUSLY.

HOWEVER, I THINK SALT II, AS PROPOSED, IS OF BENEFIT TO THE WEST AND TO THE SOVIETS. IT IS FOR YOU TO DECIDE, BUT I THINK WHAT IS EMERGING SHOULD BE RATIFIED AND LEAD ON TO SALT III. SALT II IS GOOD FOR EUROPE. WE'VE GOT TO MOVE AHEAD. I'M CONCERNED ABOUT THE DANGER OF OTHER COUNTRIES GOING NUCLEAR--LOOK AT DESAI IN INDIA.

DESPITE THE RHETORIC AND REALITY OF SOVIET ARMS, BRESHNEV IS REALISTIC, IF NOT TOO LIVELY. I DO NOT SEE US IN A LUKE-WARM WAR OR A COLD WAR. I'M NOT SO WORRIED ABOUT OTHER RUSSIAN LEADERS--ROMANOV OF LENINGRAD OR

WHOMEVER.

ON INFLATION, WE ARE CONCERNED. ALL OF US. BUT
PUBLIC EXPENDITURES ARE NEEDED TO MAINTAIN THE INFRA-
STRUCTURE. THIS QUESTION RAISED BY PROPOSITION 13 IS
DIFFICULT. HOW TO CONVINCE PEOPLE WE HAVE TO HAVE THE
SOCIAL INFRASTRUCTURE TO PROVIDE THE SERVICES. WE HAVE
AN EDUCATIONAL JOB. PEOPLE WANT MORE SERVICES, BUT
LESS TAXES. THIS IS THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF OUR HEALTH

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SERVICE. PEOPLE WANT MORE HEALTH SERVICE; THE SAME
PEOPLE WANT LESS TAXES. WE'RE CAUGHT BETWEEN THE
MILLSTONE...

I'M TALKING AS A FRIEND. I DON'T THINK THE U.S.
SHOULD PUT ON A HAIRSHIRT AND CUT GROWTH. THE AMERICAN
ECONOMY IS TOO IMPORTANT. YOU'LL HAVE SLOW GROWTH, BUT
YOU'VE GOT TO KEEP IT MOVING.

10. SENATORY BYRD SAID HE WAS GLAD TO HEAR THESE
COMMENTS, BUT THAT THE U.S. DID NEED SOME OF ITS
TRADING PARTNERS TO STIMULATE GROWTH.

11. PM CALLAGHAN: I AGREE.

12. SENATOR BYRD SAID THAT AS A SENATOR FROM WEST
VIRGINIA HE WAS AWARE OF THE PROTECTIONIST PRESSURES--
STEEL, GLASS, POTTERY, ETC. HE RECENTLY DISCUSSED THIS
WITH USHIBA OF JAPAN. PROTECTIONIST SENTIMENT IS STRONG
WITHIN THE CONGRESS. IT IS ABSOLUTELY IMPORTANT THAT
THE PRESIDENT COME AWAY WITH SOME COMMITMENTS ON MULTI-

LATERAL TRADE, SUCH AS STRAUSS IS WORKING ON. OTHERWISE WE WILL SEE A PROTECTIONIST SPIRAL, A SURGE IN PROTECTIONIST SENTIMENT. HE SAID HE HOPED THIS IMPRESSION COMING FROM THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH WILL INDICATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS MATTER.
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13. PM CALLAGHAN: THE SAME SIGNS EXIST IN OUR PARLIAMENT, AND IN FRANCE AND TO SOME EXTENT GERMANY. WE'VE HAD SOME PROTECTIONIST MOVES. IT IS IMPORTANT WE DON'T LOSE ANY MORE OF THE GROUND WE GAINED SINCE THE WAR. YOU ARE NOT ALONE IN THE CONSTITUENT PRESSURES.

YOU HAVE PROTECTIONIST SENTIMENT WHEN THERE IS NO GROWTH. I AM FEELING THE PRESSURE. WE HAVE TO GET COMMITMENTS ON GROWTH AT THE SUMMIT. WE SHARE INTERESTS ON SOME OF THE MTN POINTS. WE AGREE WITH STRAUSS ON SOME OF THE AGRICULTURAL MATTERS. WE DON'T LIKE THE COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY. IT BENEFITS FRANCE AND GERMANY. WE'RE WITH YOU ON THAT. THEN THERE ARE AREAS WHERE WE DON'T AGREE. WE SEE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MTN. WE ALSO SEE THE IMPORTANCE/OF THE COMMITMENT TO GROWTH AT THE SUMMIT. OTHERWISE THERE WILL BE A SLIDE TO PROTECTIONISM. THE ONLY WAY TO OVERCOME IT IS TO GET THE WORLD BACK ON THE GROWTH PATTERN.

I WANT TO RAISE THE ISSUE OF THE TAX TREATY--ARTICLE 9.4. WE HAD GREAT DIFFICULTY GETTING PARLIAMENT TO APPROVE THE TREATY IN JANUARY 1977. I DON'T KNOW WHAT OUR NEXT STEP WILL BE. SOME OF YOUR PEOPLE ARE COMING NEXT WEEK TO TALK TO THE BOARD OF INLAND REVENUES. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO GO BACK TO PARLIAMENT. I DON'T THINK WE COULD GET IT THROUGH THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. HOW IMPORTANT IS THIS TREATY?

14. SENATOR BYRD SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT AND THAT IT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED WITHOUT THE CHURCH RESERVATION. HE WOULD HOPE THE UK COULD ACCEPT THIS RESERVATION AND THAT IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO NEGOTIATE. HE SAID HE RECOGNIZED THE SENSITIVITY.

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15. PM CALLAGHAN: I DON'T KNOW THE POSITION OF THE BOARD OF INLAND REVENUES. WE MAY HAVE TO DROP IT. IF IT GOES BACK TO PARLIAMENT, THEY MAY SAY TO HELL WITH THE U.S. SENATE. WE MAY BE ABLE TO TRY TO WORK IT OUT.

WE JUST CAN'T PUT 9.4 IN THERE. YOU WOULD HAVE TO PUT
IN SOMETHING TO HELP US. I DON'T KNOW WHAT WE WOULD
ASK FOR. WE COULD TRY TO RENEGOTIATE IT IF THE
AMERICANS ARE WILLING TO MAKE A CONCESSION OF SOME SORT.
THEN MAYBE WE COULD GET IT THROUGH PARLIAMENT. WE COULD
HAVE THE BOARD OF INLAND REVENUES EXPLORE THE POSSI-
BILITIES. THE ALTERNATIVE FOR US IS NOT TO GO AHEAD.
WE WOULD LIKE TO WORK IT OUT.

16. SENATOR BYRD SAID HE WOULD CONVEY THAT TO THE
PRESIDENT. HE SAID HE WANTED TO MENTION THE MIDDLE
EAST. HE HOPED THE U.S. COULD GET UK SUPPORT ON THE
MIDDLE EAST SITUATION.

17. PM CALLAGHAN: KREISKY AND PERES ARE GOING TO BE
TALKING. SADAT IS GOING TO VISIT VIENNA. I HAVE TO
DISASSOCIATE MYSELF FROM SADAT DEVELOPING AN ASSOCIATION
WITH THE LABOR PARTY (ISRAEL). WEIZMANN MAY BE IN
VIENNA AT THE SAME TIME. MONDALE WAS WISE TO DISASSO-
CIATE HIMSELF. SECRETARY VANCE PROPOSES TO GET THE
PARTIES TOGETHER IN LONDON AND WE SUPPORT THAT.

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18. SENATOR BYRD REITERATED THAT HE WAS HOPEFUL THAT
THE U.S. COULD GET UK SUPPORT.

19. PM CALLAGHAN: SHOULD THE U.S. DECLARE A POSITION?

20. SENATOR BYRD SAID HE THOUGHT THE U.S. SHOULD

CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS AS A MEDIATOR.

21. PM CALLAGHAN: YOU'LL LIKE SCHMIDT. DON'T LISTEN TO ALL HE SAYS. HE'S BASICALLY PRO-AMERICAN, PRO-ATLANTIC. HE'S VERY VIGOROUS ABOUT AMERICAN POLICY.

22. SENATOR BYRD ASKED FOR CALLAGHAN'S COMMENTS ON THE TURKISH EMBARGO.

23: PM CALLAGHAN: YOU SHOULD LIFT IT. OF COURSE THE GREEKS WON'T LIKE IT. BUT A WEAKENED TURKEY WEAKENS NATO. BUT YOU'VE ALSO GOT TO TRY TO MOVE ECEVIT ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE.

THE GREEK CYPRIOTS FEEL WE LET THEM DOWN IN 1974. I WAS FOREIGN SECRETARY. I WAS IN REGULAR CONTACT WITH KISSINGER ON THAT. THAT WAS THE WEEKEND THAT NIXON WAS GOING TO PIECES AND KISSINGER WAS NATURALLY MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE SERIOUS SITUATION IN YOUR COUNTRY. I
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COULDN'T GET U.S. SUPPORT. REMEMBERING OUR EXPERIENCE WITH SUEZ, I WASN'T GOING TO TAKE ON THE TURKS WITHOUT U.S. SUPPORT. I HAVE SOME SLIGHT FEELINGS OF REMORSE ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED IN CYPRUS AND I WOULD CERTAINLY LIKE TO SEE IT RESOLVED. THE GREEK CYPRIOTS HAVE NOT HAD A SQUARE DEAL. THE TURKISH TROOPS STILL OCCUPY A LARGE PORTION OF THAT ISLAND.

24. SENATOR BYRD EXPRESSED HIS DEEP APPRECIATION TO THE PM.

25. PM CALLAGHAN: YOU ARE WELCOME ANY TIME. I HOPE TO SEE YOU AGAIN.

BREWSTER

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